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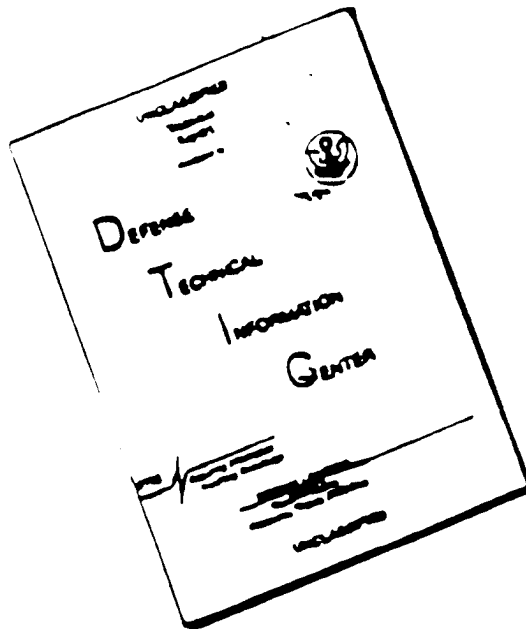
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THE PROCESS OF DISORGANIZATION AND REORGANIZATION  
OF RURAL SOCIETY IN NORTHERN THAILAND

-Transition from a Tribal Society to a State-\*

By Keiji Iwata

to p 38

1. Problems

It is an indisputable fact that the history of various peoples in the continental Southeast Asia, i.e. the Indochinese peninsula, is determined, with few exceptions, by the movements of peoples from north to south. Waves after waves of peoples moved into this peninsula from the inner part of the Asian continent; the Southeast Asia has served as the path of various peoples. In view of these facts a number of questions may be raised.<sup>1</sup>

1) The southward migration of various peoples was due to the attraction of productive resources in the tropical zone.

2) The principal route of migration was from India to Southern China, and the migration toward Southeast Asia was a secondary phenomenon. The temperate vegetation zone extending from the eastern Himalayas, Yun-Kwei plateau, and Southwest Japan probably was the "home" of the ways of living now prevailing in Southeast Asia. Can we find one of the original models of the culture of the rice growing people in the temperate zone?

3) Was the migration to Southeast Asia caused by the pressure of the Chinese people and civilization?<sup>2</sup> In other words, can we say that the southward migration of peoples was not so much due to the attraction of the tropical zone as the desire to escape from the pressure of the Chinese

people in the north.

4) At the same time the migration of peoples in Southeast Asia represents the movement of peoples from mountain areas to plains and from plains to basin areas.

There are many unanswered questions concerning the causes of migration of peoples. More specifically, there are many questions concerning the relationship between the phenomena of migration and social, cultural, and economic conditions of peoples.

5) Thus, we may ask whether the peoples who moved southward have achieved their cultural, economic, and social goals by migrations. There is no doubt that some peoples perished in the process of migration.<sup>3</sup>

6) Economic, social, and cultural developments may not go hand in hand. There may be "zigzag" developments or even "crippled" developments. Also, we should not overlook different racial characteristics.

7) Confining our attention to the Thai people, we may ask whether their southward migration represented a process of transition from a tribal society to a state or from a tribal culture to a national culture. Or, we may ask whether the migration was a self-conscious social process or an outcome of a response to an external threat.

8) From the cultural point of view, Southeast Asia has been influenced by both the Indian and Chinese cultures. But, we must ask whether Southeast Asia has assimilated the influences from these two cultures and has developed a unique culture of its own. In other words, the question is: Has Southeast Asia developed a unique culture comparable to the Chinese and Indian cultures? Can the culture of Southeast Asia be called a culture of the rice growing peoples?<sup>4</sup>

9) The growth of cities, particularly, capitals in Southeast Asia is spectacular. However, rural areas are still poor and static. Village life is completely dependent on nature. There is no "contradictions" in life and the incentive for progress is absent. How can this state of affairs<sup>5</sup> be changed? What can be the starting point for change?

10) Conventional theories on the underdeveloped nations are based on an inadequate understanding of the

society and culture of Southeast Asia. Concepts such as dual society or plural society have been used, but they are used only in reference with the peculiar societies created by colonialism. I wonder whether they [the scholars who have developed such concepts] had any real interest in the society of the native peoples or the traditional village societies.

It is necessary for us to keep our attention on the society and culture of the native peoples themselves and trace them. Now that the Western colonialism has withdrawn we wonder what kinds of social system and cultural values should be created. In order to think about these problems we must examine afresh the traditional society of the native peoples.

11) Is Japan interested in Southeast Asia merely from economic considerations? Are the peoples of Southeast Asia similarly motivated when they expect assistance from Japan? Is Japan interested in neighboring underdeveloped nations on humanitarian grounds? Is there any philosophical unity between Japan and Southeast Asia? Are there any unknown possibilities which can be exploited in the nature and ways of life of East Asia including Japan? Does this region contain a cultural model which can contribute to the welfare of mankind in the future, although the region is still economically underdeveloped.<sup>6</sup>

It is clear that this article does not deal with, let alone solve, the questions raised here. The scope of this article is limited both in terms of the area and people covered. This article specifically deals with the process of disorganization and reorganization of the traditional rural societies in Northern Thailand and the process of assimilation of such societies into the national society of Thailand. However, I should like to state that I have dealt with this specific question in light of the questions raised.

Most of the data on which this article is based were collected by the research team on rice-growing culture in which the author participated (1957-1958) and the second Southeast Asia research team (1961-1962) organized jointly by the Osaka Municipal College and Kyoto University. I should like to take this opportunity to thank those who organized the teams.

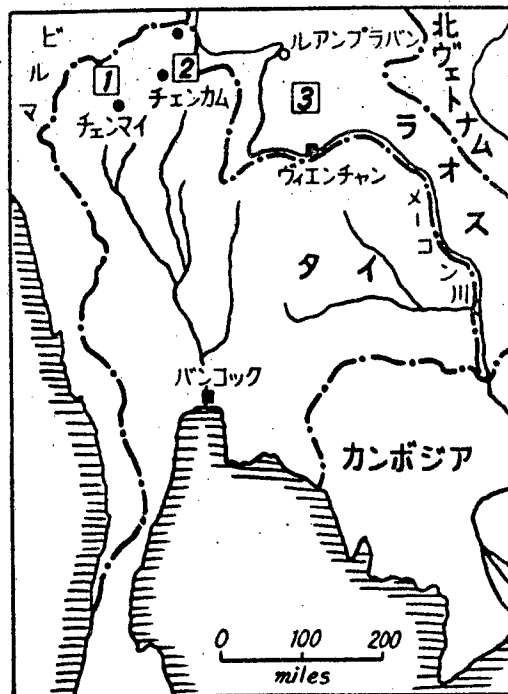


Figure 1. Research Areas

1. Mae Kon village (Thai Yai tribe). 2. Non Lu village (Thai Lu tribe). 3. Pa Than village (Thai Neua tribe).

## 2. Classifications of People's Groupings

2.1 There are many ways of naming groups of peoples of various sizes. Classifiers used in botany such as species, genus, and family cannot be used in classifying peoples although there are similarities in the two sets of classifiers. Various classifiers should take into account the dynamic social processes involved.<sup>7</sup> While I was staying in Ban Pha Tang village in Northern Laos, I dwelt on this question. Although the majority of the villagers in Pha Tang belong to the Thai Neua tribe they did not tell me about it. They invariably told me that they belonged to the Thai Laos. When I said that I knew that they were Laotians but I was interested in their tribal affiliations, they insisted that they were Laotians and did not reveal their tribal affiliations. Thus, it took a long time for me to find out the Laotians can be classified in terms of their tribal affiliations. It took more time to find that classifiers such as Thai, Phou, and Kon were subtly used. The crux of the matter is to find out<sup>8</sup> the discrimination system used by the native people.

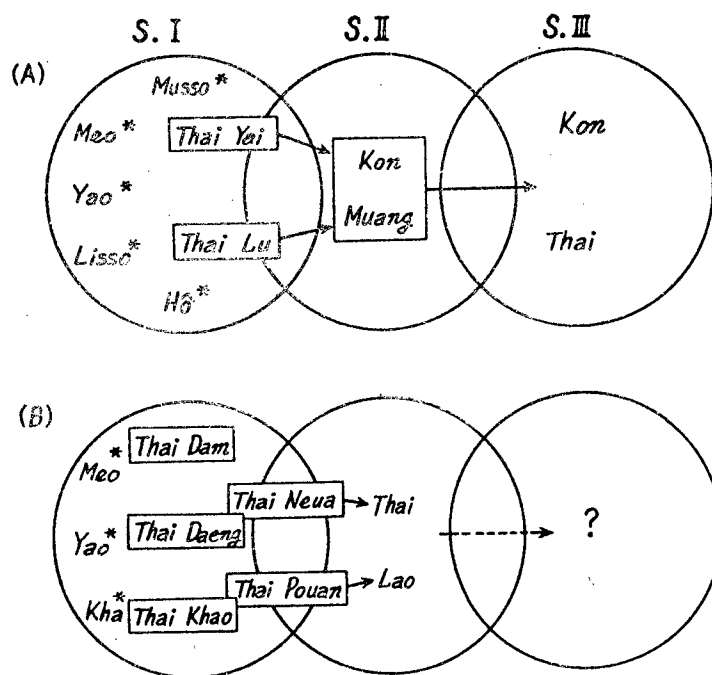


Figure 2. Social Development and  
Names of People's Groupings

A. Thailand. B. Laos \*Non-Thai Peoples

- I. Stage of Tribal Integration (Period of fighting with other tribes)
- II. Stage of Local Integration (Formation of a regional society with the Thai tribe as the core)
- III. Stage of National Integration (Formation of a nation-state)



In the Northern Laos around Pha Tang village various Thai tribes such as Thai Neua and Thai Pouan are dominant. There are minorities of other Thai tribes including Thai Et, Thai Soun, Thai Dai, Thai Poun, Thai Deng, and Thai Dam.<sup>9</sup>

Thai tribes which have changed from village tribes to regional tribes live side by side with tribes with strong traits of village tribes. Thai Neua means Northern Thai and was originated in Sam Neua. The Thai Pouan was originated in the Pouan area, i.e. Xieng Khouang plateau. Phou Thai (a comprehensive term for Thai Deng and Thai Dam) tribe live side by side with the large tribes such as Thai Neua and Thai Pouan.

These tribes are not far from the Laotian tribes in the Vientiane plains called the Thai Lao. In the north, the Tribal Thai live; in the middle, the Local Thai; and south, the National Thai. We said that the various tribes in the Vientiane area are of Thai origin, but we are not certain about their national consciousness in Laos.<sup>10</sup>

Now, let us turn our attention to Northern Thailand. The people who live in the Chiangmai, Lamphun, Pampang, and Chiangrai areas are referred to as the Kon Muang, which means the local Northern Thai people.<sup>11</sup> Now, the Thai tribes from the north are mixed with the Kon Muang. These are the Thai Yai (more specifically the Njo tribe of the Thai Yai) and the Thai Lu. They retain clearly the tribal traditions developed in the Shan plateau and the Yunnan plateau, which were their original homes.<sup>12</sup> From these observations it can be said that the tribal Thai, the local Thai, and the national Thai exist in that order from north to south.

2.2 Figure 2 shows the geographical distribution of various tribes in their dynamic, or historical characteristics.

Stage 1 indicates the conditions in the northern half of Indochinese peninsula and the Yun-Kwei plateau. Here, various Thai tribes including Thai Deng, Thai Dam, Thai Lu, and Thai Yai fought with or coexisted with non-Thai tribes in the surrounding mountain areas including the Meo, Yao, Lisu, Lolo, Karen, Lahu, and Ho tribes.

The political and economic superiority of the Thai tribes over the tribes in their surrounding areas has not been completely established. Indeed, at times they were under the domination of the Tibetan and Burmese tribes.<sup>13</sup>

The second stage refers to the stage of forming regional economic and social systems. At this stage a number of Thai tribes including the Thai Yai, Thai Lu, Thai Neua in Laos, and Thai Pouan moved southward along valleys and intermingled themselves, thereby, forming a hybrid form of culture. With the settlement of these tribes in plains, their tribal ties were weakened.<sup>14</sup> Local towns and cities were developed in key places on the feet of mountains and on plains. In this way Chiang (town) has been developed. By developing local trading centers local unity was sought. Sometimes feudal states also emerged. It is believed that the Kon Muang society in Northern Thailand was organized through the process indicated above. It can be said that regional unity has replaced tribal unity.

The third stage is the stage of forming a nation. Under strong political and economic influences from central authorities, local differences gradually disappear at this stage. A Laotian soldier with a pistol on his hip told an American that the place where he was standing was Laos and not America. I was not permitted to take a Thai interpreter to Laos and was told that the Laotians did not like the Thai people. However, I am not sure how strong is the national consciousness of the Laotian people.

In Thailand, on the other hand, nationalism was developed as a result of the political, economic, social, and educational reforms carried out by King Churaronkon. As an evidence of the rise of the national consciousness I wish to point out that the language and culture of Thailand are permeating throughout Thailand. The standard language and culture of Thailand are those of Bangkok.

2.3 In this article we will trace the transition from tribal groupings to regional groupings in Thailand. We will also consider in what ways the regional culture and society are serving as a link between tribes and the nation. In other words, we will treat the process from Stage 1 to Stage 2 indicated above.

Here we can raise a question whether the regional groupings were developed out of tribes, or as a result of

the integration of tribes into the nation-state. Our question is how a nation-state has emerged from tribes, or how a closed society has become an open society.

### 3. Analysis of Tribal Society

#### 3.1 Let us first consider the general distribution of the Thai Yai and Thai tribes.

The Thai Yai tribe came originally from the Shan plateau in Burma. They penetrated Thailand almost in a straight line. In the Muang Ngai valley in Northern Thailand the Thai Yai tribe occupies the northern part, and the Kon Muang tribe the southern part. It is apparent that the Thai Yai tribe migrated southward along the river valley.

The Thai Lu tribe, originated in the Yunnan area, settled in the Chiengrai area, especially near Chiengkam and north of Nan. In other words they are settled in the northwestern region of Thailand along the Laotian border. Generally speaking, the northern part is settled by the Thai Lu tribe and the southern part by the Kon Muang tribe. However, the Thai Lu tribe is settled on the upper reach area of the Wieng Pa Pao River while the Kon Muang tribe is in the lower reach area.<sup>15</sup> Thus, it is not accurate to say that the Thai Lu tribe is in the northern part and the Kon Muang tribe in the southern part. The border between Thai tribes and Thai regional groupings does not indicate simply the history of migration of the Thai people. It is determined by the dynamic relationship between groups of people.

3.2 Figure 3 shows the relationship between the Thai Yai and the Kon Muang tribe in the valley along the Mae Kon River--this is a tributary of the Mae Ping river and not to be confused with the Mekong river.

1) Generally speaking, the Thai Yai tribe is settled in the northern part of the valley and the Kon Muang villages are in the southern part of the valley. These two tribes are confronting each other from north to south. This information was provided to me by a former village chief of Muang Ngai who knows the affairs of the village more than anybody else in the village. He is the richest man in the village, manages a market, owns a bus remodelled from a truck, and visits Chiangmai often driven by his son. He also visits Burma from time to time to carry on business.

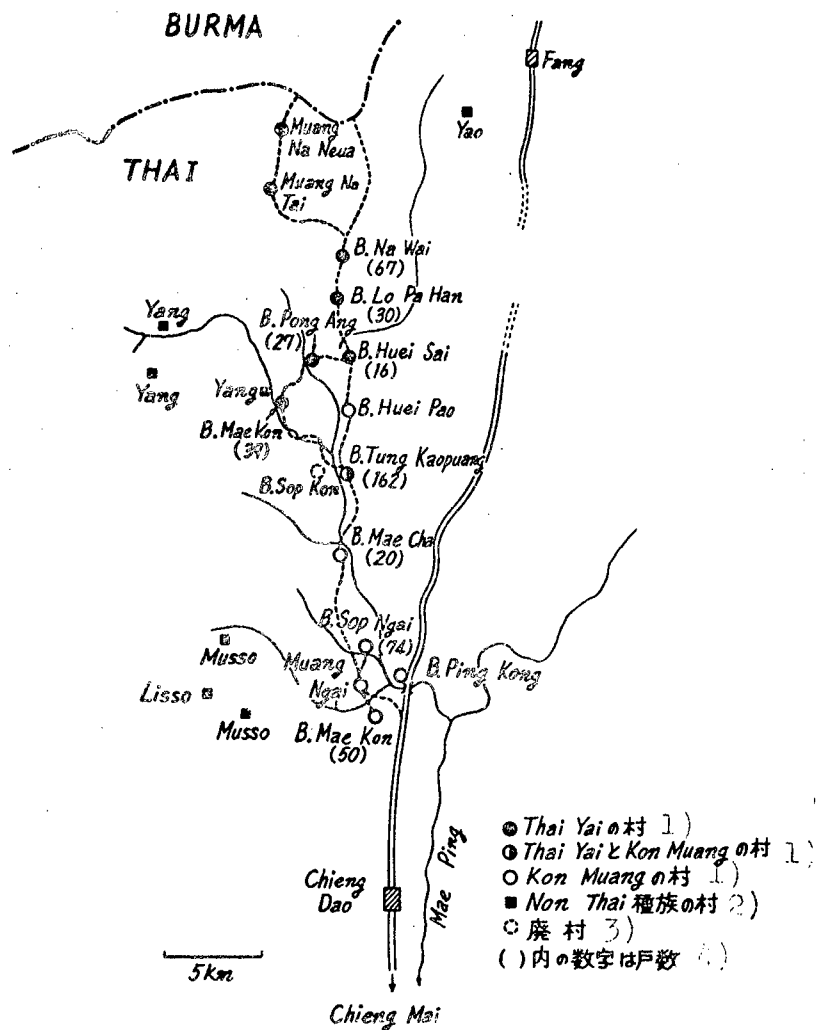


Figure 3. Distribution of the Thai Yai Villages in the Mekong River Basin

1. Village of Villages      2. Tribal Village      3. Old Sites  
 4. Figures in parenthesis refer to numbers of households.

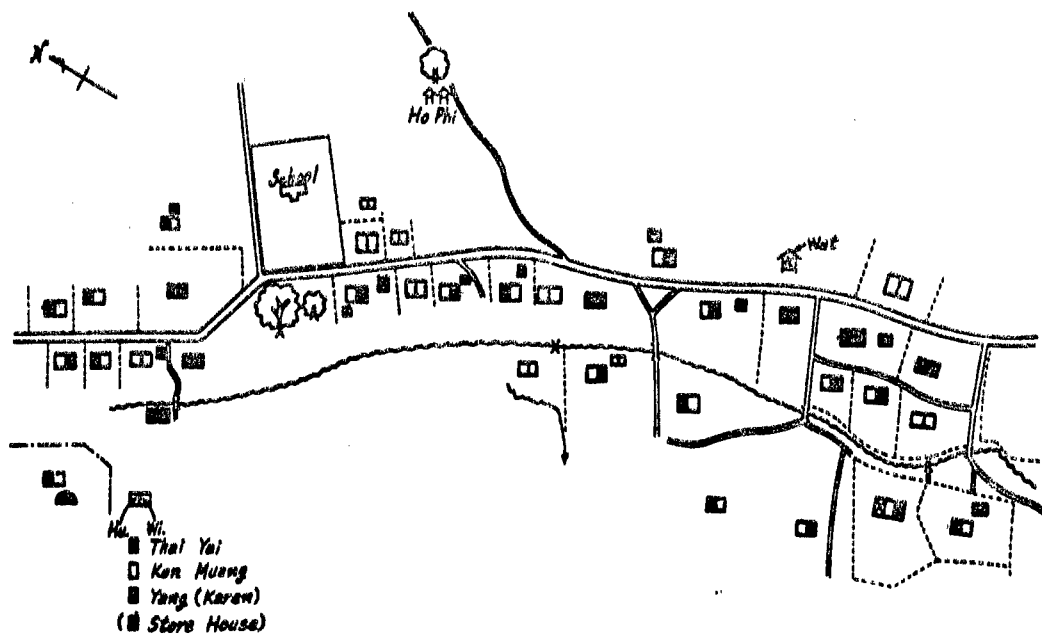


Figure 4. Tribal Affiliations of the Members  
of the Mae Kon Village

Note: Tribal affiliations of husband and wife in each household are shown here. A miller's family indicated at bottom left is included here for the sake of convenience, although the family lives far apart from the village.

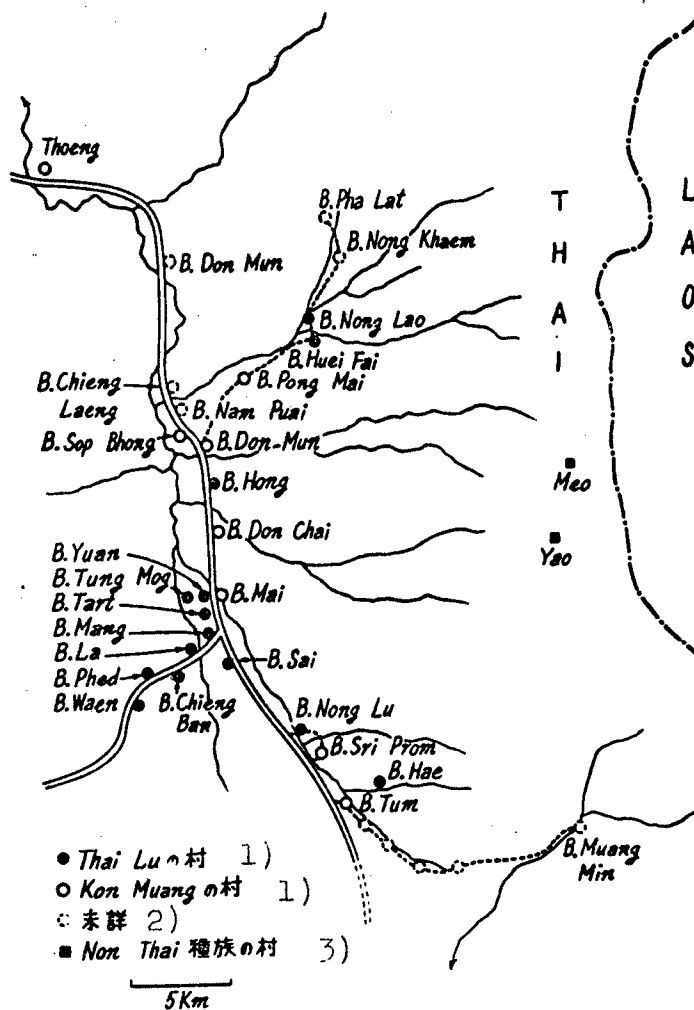


Figure 5. The Distribution of the Thai Lu Tribe Near Chienggam

1. village      2. uncertain      3. tribal village

2) However, a survey of a number of villages indicated that the actual conditions are very complex. For example, the Ban Tung Kapuang village (162 households) was inhabited by the Thai Yai tribe in the past. However, the Thai Yai tribe and the Kon Muang tribe are found in the village. Both Ban Hui Sai village (16 households) and Ban Pong Ang village (27 households) are now inhabited by members of these two tribes. Five out of 67 households in the Ban Na Wai village belong to the Kon Muang tribe. What has happened in this area is not the migration of the Thai Yai tribe from north to south but the expansion of influence, or population, of the Kon Muang tribe toward north along the river valley. 16

The Thai Yai tribe in the north and the Kon Muang tribe in the south are dynamically opposed to each other.

3) On this point, let me report on the conditions of the Mae Kon village where I conducted a thorough study. I found out that such concepts as a Thai Yai village, a Kon Muang village, or a mixed village are too general to be useful. Indeed, we must examine the tribal affiliation of people almost one by one.

As Figure 4 indicates that there are eight households where both husbands and wives are members of the Thai Yai tribe (here an old man at the water mill was included). In seven households, husbands are of the Thai Yai tribe and wives of the Kon Muang tribe. In nine households, husbands belong to the Kon Muang tribe and wives to the Thai Yai tribe. In nine households both husbands and wives were members of the Kon Muang tribe. In two households husbands were members of the Kon Muang tribe and wives members of the Karen tribe (in one household the wife was a mixture of the Kon Muang and the Karen). There is a household where the husband is a member of the Karen tribe and the wife a member of the Kon Muang tribe. The tribal affiliation of one household was not determined.

It is quite clear that the Thai Yai and the Kon Muang tribes are widely mixed. The question is centered on the characteristics of the Thai Yai or Kon Muang tribe. In other words, we must know the discrimination system. On this point, a villager of the Mae Kon village told me that the tribal affiliation of a child follows that of his mother. Since children stay most of their time with their mothers they learn the languages of their mothers. Since language (dialect) is the most important criterion of determining

tribal affiliation children follow the tribal affiliations of their mothers.

Since the Thai Yai tribe has a long history they are different from the Kon Muang tribe in many respects other than language. Thus, there are differences between these tribes on the following points: the hair styles of women, hair decorations, dresses, dress patterns, housing structures, and some rituals.<sup>17</sup> It is to be noted that most of these cultural differences are disappearing. Only language is the most persistent distinguishing mark of a tribe. However, with the mingling of the Thai Yai tribe with the Kon Muang, the tribal characteristics of the Thai Yai have been weakened. In short, it may be said that the Thai Yai tribe is being assimilated by the Kon Muang society in spite of their resistance to the disintegration of the tribal system.

3.3 Now let us examine the Thai Lu tribe. The tribe is known well as the tribe that created the Sip Song Panna, the so-called twelve countries, in the upper reaches of the Mekong River and in Yunnan area.<sup>18</sup> The twelve countries consist of six countries on the right bank of the Mekong River and six countries on the left bank: the six countries on the right bank are Muang Chieng Hung, Muang Hai Muang Hun, Muang Chieng Chirng, Muang Chae, Muang Parn; the six countries on the left bank are Muang Hum, Muang Lar, Muang Yuan, Muang Ou, Muang Pong, and Muang Long. They organized a kind of a federated state of tribes with Chieng Hung as their capital. After a defeat by the Muhammedan tribe Ho, they moved southward. Some of them penetrated into Thailand and the northern part of Laos.

The Thai Lu tribe in Chiengkam area, whom I studied, came from Yunnan through Burma (Keng Tung and Mae Sai) to Thailand. Another group of the tribe migrated along the following route: Yunnan, Muong Sing (Laos), Ban Houei Sai, Nan (Thailand), and Chiengkam. The migration of tribes continues even today on a small scale.

In the Chiengkam area the Thai Lu tribe is mingled with the Kon Muang. They are not mixed on individual basis; except few exceptions. On the whole, one tribal village exists side by side with another tribal village. There is no regular pattern in the geographical distribution of tribal villages. The Thai Lu tribe is gradually absorbed into the Kong Muang by mingling with the Kon Muang. However,



the transition is not abrupt.

Let us now consider the tribal discrimination systems. In the Chiengkam area, the Thai Lu and the Kon Muang are found. Different names are used by them in referring to each other. Thus, the Thai Lu tribe refers to the Kon Muang as the Yuan or the Thai Yuan. On the other hand, the Kon Muang call themselves the Kon Muang and refer to the Thai Lu tribe as the Lu. When the Kon Muang talk to the Thai people in the central part of Thailand they refer to themselves as the Kon Thai. Although these are mere names they are very confusing to researchers. What is important for our purpose is that the Thai Lu tribe divide the population of Thailand into the Lu and Thai Yuan while the Kon Muang divide the population into the Lu, the Kon Muang, and Kon Thai.<sup>19</sup>

The tribal identification principle for the Thai Lu is as follows: If members of the Thai Lu tribe live in the Kon Muang village, either as husbands, wives, or the families as a whole, they are regarded as the Kon Muang. However, the Kon Muang members can not become members of the Thai Lu even if they live over a long period of time in a Thai Lu village because the Kon Muang members cannot master the language of the Thai Lu tribe. Language, as noted earlier, plays the decisive role in determining the tribal affiliation of the people. Since this is the case there is tendency for the Thai Lu tribe to become the Kon Muang. By insisting on the language requirement for tribal membership the Thai Lu tribe is being gradually absorbed into the Kon Muang society.

Similar observations can be made about the Thai Neua tribe. I shall deal with this tribe in another article. The parallel conditions in Laos will not be treated because of the limitation of space.

3.4 What are the social problems created by the assimilation of tribal society into a regional society? Does the blood kinship relationship of the tribal system interfere with the development of a regional society? These are some of the questions we can raise at this point.

1) The social structure of the Thai Yai tribe is characterized by bilateral kinship relations. An individual, therefore, belongs to the families of both of his parents. A new family formed by a marriage belongs to the families of both parents of the bride. This bilateral kinship

relationship in Thailand is called Phi Nong Kan, Yart Diaw Kan, or Yart Kan. Under this system a strong kin group is not formed and the mobility of individuals is reduced. For this reason, the Thai Yai tribe makes distinctions between close and remote relatives. Close relatives are called as Yart Phi Nong Klai Klai Kan and remote relatives are called Yart Phi Nong Hang Hang Kan. According to this system they decide on the propriety of marriages between cousins, participation in funerals and weddings, and daily intercourse.<sup>20</sup>

The Thai Yai tribe, with this kind of kinship system, is being assimilated into the Kon Muang society. The kinship systems in these two societies are similar. Also, in both societies, the fraternal relationship among members of the same generation is emphasized. This relationship is referred to as Phi Nong Kan. The regional group is based not on kinship but mainly on village affiliation.

Negotiations for a marriage are started by a talk (Lae Saw) between the interested parties and the system of matrilocal residence is adopted. The Thai Yai tribe and the Kon Muang share many things in common as far as marriage institution is concerned. There is practically no difference on the points of supporting parents and inheritance. Of course, different terms are used by these people. In short, there seems to be not many obstacles to the transition of the tribal community to a social community. The element of social cohesion is very strong.

2) One of the most striking characteristics of the Thai Lu tribe is the institution of Kreua Diaw Kan. This is a strong kinship and regional body. It has a strong system of discipline and is often militant. The Lu tribe migrated southward fighting off their surrounding enemies, particularly the Ho tribe. The Kreua serves as the core of the Thai Lu tribe.

Kreua Diaw Kan means one tribe in unity (Kreua means tie and Diaw Kan means one thing). According to a member of the Thai Lu tribe, they had their own family names when they organized Sip Song Panna in Yunnan. They are: Wongluang, Prawang, Somrit, Wongyai, Homnern, Chaiklar, and Wongyai.<sup>21</sup> Members of the tribe having the same family name organized a village. The Kreua encourages intermarriages between close relatives. In other words, the Kreua members follows the principle of intermarriage.

The rules governing the residence after marriage are very peculiar. A newly married couple alternates their

residence between the house of the bride and then the house of the bridegroom for a period of three years each. This system is called "three pi paj three pi ma." The final residence of the newly married is determined by the family situations of the parents of the bride and bridegroom. The length of residence sometimes varies from 2 to 5 years, but 3 years is the norm. Because of this rule it is convenient to marry with a member within the same village.

The Kreau Diaw Kan system underwent changes as the Thai Lu tribe migrated from Yunnan to Thailand. Figure 6 is an attempt to explain the changes.

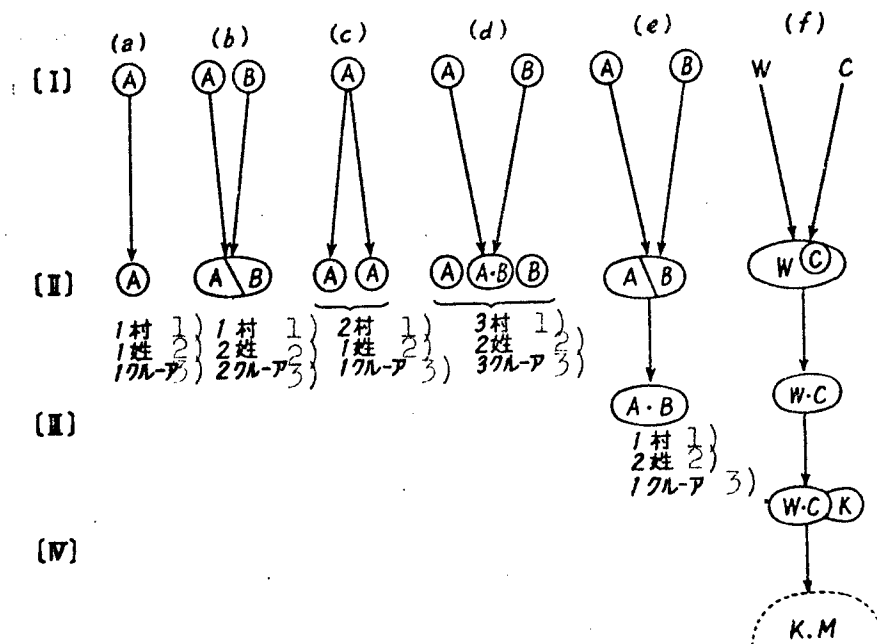


Figure 6. Metamorphosis of the Kreua in the Thai Lu Tribe

1. Village

2. Family Name

3. Kreua

The changes in social structures are indicated by diagrams in stages I through IV. Stage I represents the original model of Kreau. Stages I and II represent the period of migration. During this period a process of mingling took place and marriages between Kreua members and members of other tribes took place. Stage II represents a period of stability. At various stages change in the Kreua system were effected. Some of the villages around Chiengkam are still at this stage. Further changes from this stage are indicated in III and IV.

Various kinds of changes are indicated by diagrams (a) through (f).

(a) represents the situation of a village where no change is effected in the Kreua system.

(b) represents the merger of two Kreuas into one. Here one village contains two Kreuas.

(c) represents the splitting of a village into two villages. Thus, two villages are within a Kreua.

(d) is a variation of (b). This is a case where two villages with different family names intermarry and create a new Kreua in which peoples with two different family names are found. Thus, three villages, two family names, and three Kreuas have resulted.

(e) represents the merger of two villages into one village with two family names and one Kreuas, and the further merger of two Kreuas into one. The outcome is one village, two family names, and one Kreua.

(f) is the situation in Ban Nong Lu village where I did my study. At present, two families, Wongyai and Chaiklar, form a Kreua. The village also has about 20 households of the Kon Muang. Since the Kon Muang members are late arrivals, the situation in the recent past must have been like III; that is to say, one Kreua and two family names. Before that, II conjectures a small number of people having the Chaiklar family name living in a village which was dominated by the Wongyai family. Prior to that time there is no doubt that the Wongyai and Chaiklar families were in two different villages.

It has been shown that the Thai Lu has maintained its social and cultural cohesion although it has had to change its kinship system as it moved southward. It is open to question whether the tribe could maintain its cohesion without the strong organization of the Kreua which has provided relief for the poor and serves as a defense organization. For them, at least, the Kreua serves as a shield for individuals and families.

However, the members of the tribe must now move into the Kon Muang society. The role of the Kreua for promoting social cohesion has ended. A member of the Thai Lu tribe told me that it is possible for members of the Thai Lu tribe to enter the Kon Muang society but not vice versa. He said that Kon Muang members are not allowed to participate in the community life and ceremonies of the Thai Lu tribe. This may be one way in which the Thai Lu tribe can penetrate into the Kon Muang society without losing their tribal identity.

3.5

(1) The main difference in the economic field between the Thai Yai and Thai Lu tribes, on the one hand, and the Kon Muang, on the other, is talat, market. I could not find a market in the various Thai Yai and Thai Lu tribal villages. They admit that they do not have market system. This fact indicates the economic self-sufficiency of these tribes.<sup>22</sup>

Although they are economically self-sufficient they seldom have economic surplus. They keep in stock one year's supplies of rice, but hardly anything else. They rely on the seasonal products of nature and live without any major economic worries. They hardly need cash. Some villages cultivate tobacco and garlic but rice is offered for sale only in few cases. It is not correct that they live in a pre-currency society, but the degree of self-sufficiency of daily necessities is very high.

In the villages near Chiangmai I noticed that rice paddies were on sale. I was told that one rai of land for single crop cultivation costs about 2,000 baht and one rai of land for double crop cultivation about 3,000 baht. The price of rice paddies in the Muang Gai area ranged from 2,000 baht to 3,000 baht. In contrast, there is no one in the Mae Kon village offering rice paddies for sale. Therefore, the price of rice paddy is uncertain. Similarly, it is extremely difficult to determine the price

of houses. To build a house, they buy only nails and some metal parts. Houses are built by the villagers in a common effort. Housing materials are mostly hand-made by the villagers. Needless to say, economic self-sufficiency is a mark of a tribal society. Another feature of the society is the lack of contact with the outside world. Ban Non Lu village is relatively easy to reach. However, it is extremely difficult to reach Mae Kon village. One has to go through forests and across mountains or walk along the Mekong River. One may even have to use ox cart. However, one may not be able to find one for as far as I know only the village chief had one. During the rainy season, the contact with the outside world stops almost completely.

Three villagers in Tung Kapuang village told me that the village offers tobacco, garlic, and glutinous rice for sale. One kilogram of garlic costs 2 baht in the village but 5 baht in Chieng Dao, 12 baht in Chiengmai and 18 baht in Bangkok. One kilogram of rice costs 4 baht in this village, but 6 baht in Chieng Dao and 8 baht in Chiengmai. The price differences are due to transportation cost and the profits of merchants. Since the prices are very low in the village there is little incentive to produce commodities. The commodity trade in villages in northern Thailand is carried on by itinerant peddlers. There is trade with the mountain tribes in this region on a small scale.

However, the livestock trading was going on in the village. The price of a buffalo was 800 baht, cattle 900 baht, and a pig 300 baht. During the dry season merchants from cities and plains visit villages to buy livestock.

In conclusion it may be said that the tribal society is an economically self-sufficient society. A tribal village has no market. Indeed, there is no need for a market. Since the whole villagers are intimately acquainted with each other, commodities are obtained by house visits or through gifts.

(2) The development of a tribal society without a market into a regional society may be regarded as a process of expansion of a tribal society. When a tribal society reach a certain level of development it acquires the characteristics of a regional society.

The following villages of the Thai Yai tribe in the

Mae Kon valley have no market: Na Wai (67 households), Lo Pa Han (30 households), Huei Sai (16 households), Pong Ang (27 households), Mae Kon (39 households), and Tung Kapuang (162 households; the people in this village include members of the Kon Muang).

The following villages belonging to the Kon Muang do not have market: Huei Pao (80 households), Mae Cha (20 households), Sop Ngai (74 households), and Mae Kon (80 households).

Only Muang Ngai village with 445 households has a market.

The Thai Lu tribe in the Chiengkam also does not have market. Only Kon Muang villages have markets. We will not discuss the relationship between the number of households in a village and market.

(3) When a Kon Muang village has 200 to 300 households a new market is developed. Thailand has a unique system of market.

It is to be noted that the size of markets varies from the morning market in which 15 or 16 housewives sell surplus agricultural products to huge markets in cities. However, even a small market is covered probably because of the need to protect commodities against rain. One cannot find an open air market.

Markets are held between 6 a.m. to 8 a.m. before the farmers go out to the fields. In cities, afternoon markets (Talat Laeng) are held. There are some markets which open all day long. I do not have enough data on the management and managers of markets. I found a woman manager sitting at the entrance to a market and collecting about five baht from the farmers bringing in commodities. The manager bring the collection to the manager of the market, i.e. the town authorities. It seems that there is no complex market systems which can be observed in many areas outside Southeast Asia.<sup>25</sup>

There are no professional markets. Farmers bring their products for sale at the markets. Most of those who sell products are women. Except in large cities men do not sell things at markets. It may be said that a market is a trading post of surplus agricultural products by housewives. This point can be illustrated by the kinds of goods

on sale.

For example, the commodities on sale in a morning market in Muang Ngai included the following: vegetable leaves, "wikyo," rape seed flowers, tobacco leaves, banana, cabbage, red pepper (both fresh and dried), pork (intestines and legs), bird meat, catfish, garlic, pickled vegetables, taro, betel nut, fried banana, cakes made of powdered rice, salt (sea), candy, "pakuchi," noodle ( cut into 2 to 3 cm long), pork fat, sticks of bean-jelly, egg plant (purple and white), melon, pumpkin, tomato (small size), bamboo shoot, young leaves of banana, cracker, thin tea (miang),<sup>24</sup> fern leaves, sweat potato (fresh or steamed one with cocoa power on it , dried fishes, "kinma "leaves, rain wears, umbrellas, vinyl sheets, duck eggs, cosmetic products, and medicines.

In the following morning chicken eggs, ginger, and corn were added.

In the Muang Ngai market women gathered through fog at 6 a.m. and returned home promptly at 8 a.m.

3.6 The general pattern of the disintegration and transition of a tribal society to a regional society is as indicated above. However, it is needless to point out that there are variations in the pattern because of regional and tribal differences. Let us compare Mae Kon village belonging to the Thai Yai tribe and Nong Lu village belonging to the Thai Lu tribe.

1) Although both villages do not have market, and are self-sufficient economically, there is a difference in the degree of self-sufficiency. Mae Kon village is more self-sufficient than Nong Lu village. Nong Lu village has entered into a phase of trading economy.

Nong Lu village produces commercial crops such as rice , (Khao Nung), onion (Hon Daeng), tobacco (Ya Soub), and peanuts ( To Din). They sell banana, vegetables, coconut, duck eggs, chicken eggs, and garlic as well as these products at nereby markets. They buy salt, soy sauce, cloth, kerosene, tea, plates, and paste. Merchants from other villages purchase cotton yarn, chicken, buffalo, cattle, pigs, rice, and sugar products in this village.

Nong Lu village is located near a major highway and has many rice paddies and fields. For these reasons,



the villagers are anxious to expand trade although they wish to maintain the principle of economic self-sufficiency.

In contrast Mae Kon village is an isolated mountain village. The villagers are willing to sell their products, be it tobacco or chicken, but they do not even know how to price them.

2) Since a tribal society is based on kinship relations, social gradations are mainly based on blood relationship, sex, age, and talents rather than income or wealth. However, the disintegration of a tribal society is followed by the emergence of new types of social gradation.

In rural villages, social gradations begin to be based on land holding. In an area where uncultivated lands are still available differences in the capacities of individuals to open the lands will determine land holding. Similarly, a rapid shift in population will bring about changes in social gradations.

In Mae Kon village, farmers are divided into the following four classes.<sup>25</sup>

1. Hai Chao (Land owner)
2. Tam Eng (Independent farmer)
3. Chao Na (Sharecrop farmer)
4. Lug Chang ( Farm laborer)

Table 1 shows the numbers of households of these villagers.

Table 1. Farmers in Mae Kon Village  
(1962)

Classification of Farmers	Number of House- holds	Remarks
Land Owner	7	3 are independent land owners
Independent farmers	13	
Sharecroppers	12	
Farm Laborers	6	
Uncertain	2	
Mill owner	1	
Hired hand of the Village Chief	1	
Total:	42	3 households counted twice

The villagers of Nong Lu village are divided into the following classes:

1. Independent Farmer (Tam Kon Diaw)
2. Sharecropper (Yier Na Chang)
3. Farm Laborer (Lug Chang).

There is no class corresponding to the land owner class in the Thai Yai tribe. However, there are many Yai farmers holding large lands as independent farmers.

It seems that the process of social stratification is going on faster in Nong Lu village than in Mae Kon village. This judgment is based on the number of land owners, the management of mills by land owners, and the commercialization of agricultural products. However, it is not certain whether the kind of social stratification mentioned above is related to the institution of Kreua Diaw Kan in the Thai Lu tribe. It is obvious that gradually the social cohesion achieved by the institution of Kreua will be replaced by the cohesion achieved by the newly emerging economic system.

3) Let us now examine the cooperative labor as a feature of the communal life in a tribal society. It is called Chuej Kan in Mae Kon village. Since it is a common effort by villagers it is called muban diaw kan chaej kan or tuk muban chuej kan, or tuk tuk ban chuej kan. Villagers cooperate in rice planting, rice harvesting, polishing grains, weddings, funerals, building houses, clearing roofs, irrigation works, road repairing, lumbering, Khaw Wasa, Ok Wasa, Phi Mai (New Year's ceremony) and on other occasions (Tam Bun),

I happened to witness the common work at the time of rice harvesting and polishing. 24 villagers came to the house of Kamsai, (village chief. Of these 19 were men and five women. Twenty persons (ten men and ten women) came to help harvesting at the house of a villager Pinya. Some of the households sent two members each. Since the number of the households in the village is 39 about two thirds of the households in the village came out to help. This indicates that the habit of cooperative work is well maintained even now.

In Nong Lu village villagers are obliged to participate in common labor or cooperative efforts within the Kreua. They are expected to take part in these works without being

specifically asked to do so. This system is called Kreua Diaw Kan Chuej Kan. Cooperation is required at the following occasions: at the ceremony known as Boat in which village boys are initiated as candidates for monk (Nen), at the ceremony known as Paek Tu in which candidates for monk are elevated to monks (Pra), funerals (Tai), construction of houses (Paeng Hern), celebrations of new houses (Kiun Hern Mai), and wedding ceremonies (Taengarn).

I was told by villagers that they are obliged to participate in road repair works and construction of temples and schools. I was also told that rice planting, rice harvesting, grain polishing, and roof fixing are done by each household and common work is not required. It is noteworthy that common efforts are not called for at rice planting, rice harvesting and grain polishing. One probable answer is that the tendency for individual management is widespread in farming. Or, the common element remains strong as far as the communal ceremonies are concerned but the independence of families has increased on the whole.

(4) I dealt with the native religion Ho phi on another occasion.<sup>26</sup> I merely wish to say here that there is a trend to move from the village phi to household phi. This is generally called Phra Phum.

We have examined the ways in which two tribal villages are moving away the tribal system. Although there are differences due to geographical positions, and tribal characteristics the general pattern of change is same. The question is in what direction the change is being made.

#### 4. Pattern of Social Development

4.1 It may be said that the development of the Thai people can be summarized as follows: the people moved from small valleys to larger ones along rivers and settled in the river basin areas and delta areas. The Thai people moved along valleys, and their society was influenced by rivers.<sup>27</sup> I shall illustrate this in Figure 7, as follows:

Fig. 7 Three Yardsticks for Social Development

(1)	(2)	(3)
Place of Living	Direction of Migration of the Thai People	Trends of Social Development
Temperate Zone	Stagnant Period	Administrative Systems in Thailand (Laos)
	Tribal Society	Muban (Ban)
		Village Society (economically self-sufficient society)
		Formation of Village Markets (Morning Markets)
		Tambon (Tasseng)
Tropical Highland	Migration Period	Amphor (Muang)
	Regional Society	Development of Regional Cities
		Changwat (Queng)
Tropical Lowland	Period of Stability	Pratet (Patet)
	Nation State	Development of Capital

(I do not suggest that these three yardsticks fit neatly; various adjustments are possible and necessary)

1) Villages such as Mae Kon and Nong Lu are societies made up of the following elements: lands (rice paddies, dry fields, forests and mountains), families and relatives, and village cultures. Families and relatives are basic economic units for maintaining economic self-sufficiency.

2) In the center of a region containing several or more than ten villages there is a small market. In the Mae Kon valley Muang Ngai is the market place and the center of Tambon (Commune).<sup>28</sup>

In Muang Ngai there are 200 to 400 households, a temple, a school, a few stores (mostly general stores, and dress shops owned sometimes by Chinese merchants), and a small restaurant. A small mill with powered milling machine is usually in the village. Some villages have doctors. People walk to neighboring villages or use ox carts or boats. There is usually one truck or bus service between the village and a nearby town. The village serves as a trading center in the rural area. In northern Thailand a village such as this serves as a trading point with mountain tribes.

3) The center of an Amphur (district) is properly called a town. In a town there are government offices, police station, forestry office, health center, stores, market (offering agricultural products, clothings, and daily necessities), motion picture theater, restaurant, and gasoline station. Chieng Dao, the center of Chieng Dao Amphur, and Ban Yuan, the center of Chieng Gam Amphur are two examples of such towns.

There are two or three restaurants owned by Chinese. Women selling fruits and "kaoram"<sup>29</sup> can be usually found on the streets of such towns. These towns are transportation centers. Several buses fully loaded and luggages on top depart and arrive in these towns.

4) Changwat (Province) is the administrative district above the level of Amphur. Provinces in northern Thailand include: Chiengmai, Chiengrai, Lapan, Lanphoon, and Nan. In each province there is a town bearing the name of the province.<sup>30</sup>

1. Chiengmai is located in the center of the Chiengmai valley. It is an old city overlooking the Mae Ping River. The town is surrounded by 1.5 square kilometers of walls.

The brick walls are again surrounded by ditches. With the development of a railroad on the left bank of the Mae Ping River on the east side of the city a new section of the city has been developed. A new hospital and the Prince Royal College have been built here. In recent years the western sector of the city has been developed. An airport, the Chiangmai University, and modern residential area have been developed there.

2. One of the characteristics of Chiangmai is that it was once the capital of the Chiangmai kingdom. Until 1926 the king lived in Chiangmai. It was a political center. At the same time, the city is a religious center. There are many temples in the city today. A map of the city showed 92 temples. Since six of them do not have monks there are 86 temples with monks. The king could exert his authority with a religious sanction.

3. The city is a large trading center. Various products from the neighboring areas are traded at four markets--one within the city walls and three outside. Most of the merchants in the markets deal with agricultural products. Many stores are established on a permanent basis. There are many Chinese merchants and Indian dry goods stores are making inroad. These markets serve as both wholesale and retail purposes. It was also a center of caravans up to about 70 years ago. At that time the population of Chiangmai was about 100,000. 700 to 1,000 donkeys and horses a year carried goods to Yunnan. 7,000 to 8,000 of horses and 4,000 carriers were used to haul goods between Chiangmai and Shanstate. Also, 1,000 elephants were used for transporting goods between Chiangmai and Chiensen. At the same time, 5,000 porters were used for trading with MORMEN in Burma, and 3,000 cattle for trading with Lampang, a town in southern part of Thailand. On the other hand, 5,000 to 6,000 buffaloes were brought from Luang Prabang in Laos each year for sale in Thailand. 200 to 300 elephants were sold to Burma each year. At that time boats reached Bangkok by the Mae Ping River. The number of boats transporting passengers and cargoes was estimated at more than 1,000.<sup>51</sup> These facts indicate the importance of Chiangmai as a trading center in the past.

4. Chiengrai is the center of the Chiengrai valley just as Chiangmai is the center of the Chiangmai valley. Similarly, Nan is the center of the Nan valley. Chiengrai

and Nan are connected with Bangkok through the Mae Yom valley and Mae Nan valley respectively. These local cities are based on the basin area of the Chappia River and are connected with Bangkok through valleys. However, it is difficult for each local city to achieve a horizontal tie with another local city. In order to go to Lanpan along the Mae Yom River from Chiangmai along the Mae Ping River, it is necessary to go first south to Li and then go up north again. A similar step is necessary to reach Nan from Phayao.

5. One of the characteristics of these local cities is that these cities provide services to rural villages. In other words, these cities are sustained by various local industries in their vicinities.

In Chiangrai there are the following types of stores: dry goods stores, hardware stores, hair dressers, barber shops, Chinese restaurants, notions stores, orange wholesalers, stationery stores, drug stores, candy shops, photographers, bicycle shops, shoe shops, leather goods stores, silverware stores, hotels, and motion picture theaters. The most conspicuous stores are hardware and metal shops, barber shops, and hair dressers. I cannot give the numbers of these stores, but these stores indicate the characteristics of a local city serving almost economically self-sufficient villages. It is to be noted that local handicraft products are not sold at markets.

5) A society that develops in a river valley area apparently follows the steps indicated in 1) through 4). Especially in the northern part of Thailand this seems to be the pattern widely attested.<sup>32</sup>

It is true that village societies expand into broad regional societies by increasing the complexity of their social structures. The process of the development of village societies should not be considered in isolation but in the light of the broad social and political changes around the villages. It is not a simple process as water flowing to lower areas.

I wish to examine two stages of social development: 1) the disintegration of tribal societies, and 2) the formation of a national state, or process of modernization.<sup>33</sup>

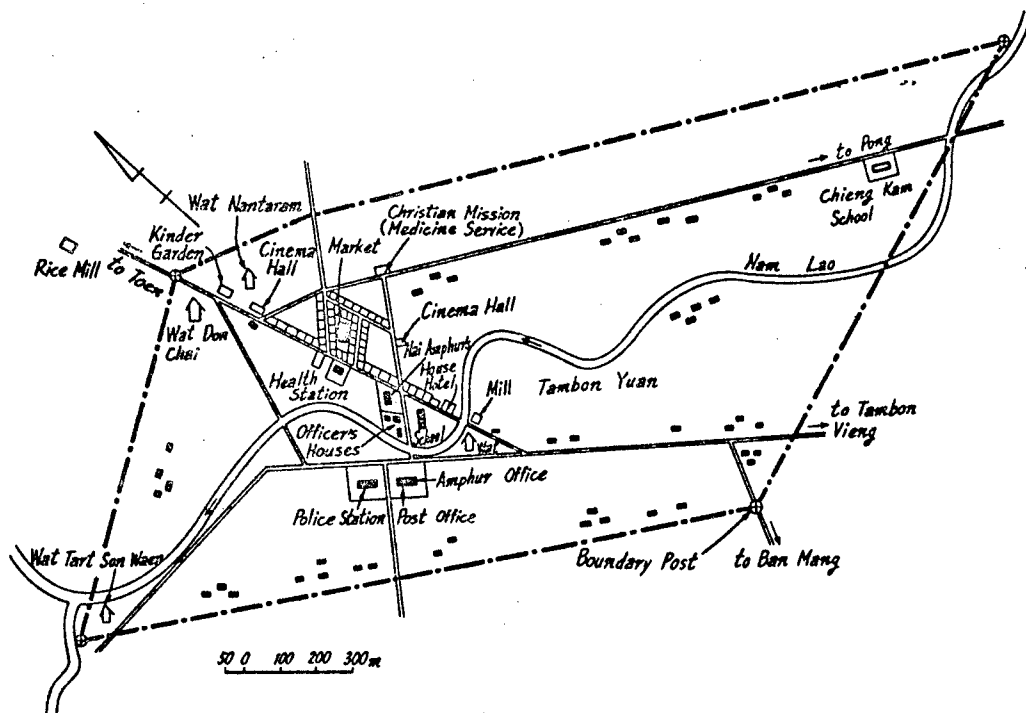


Figure 8. A Local Town (Chiengkam)

The town is surrounded by stores including grocery stores, photographers, barber shops, hair dressers, restaurants, dress shops, watch repair shops, bicycle shops, food stores, and cosmetics stores. Most of them are owned by Chinese merchants. The Wat Nantharan is a Burmese temple style architecture.



4.2 What we need not a simple description of social development but a structural analysis of the social change. We can work with the following hypotheses:

1) The formation of national state following the disintegration of tribal societies. In this view, the economic, social, and cultural factors operating in tribal societies can be carried over to a national state. The emerging nations in Africa are following this pattern of development.<sup>34</sup> However, this is not the pattern followed in Southeast Asia.

2) The disintegration of tribal societies to the emergence of regionally united societies (feudal states and small kingdoms) to the emergence of a national society.

In this view, the disintegration of tribal societies is followed by the formation of small feudal states based on the growth of local cities and authorities. Those who hold this view maintain that the formation of a state should be preceded by such local authorities. The general pattern of social development of Thai and Laotian tribes falls under this category. However, the more accurate model of development seems to be the following one.

3) The disintegration of tribal societies to unsuccessful attempts to form regional societies to colonization by Western powers (permeation of the Western technology) to the emergence of a national society.

This seems to be the pattern closer to reality. At the time when regional societies were about to be developed after the breakdown of tribal societies the Western powers came in and cut off ties with the past. The process of Westernization took place under a colonial or independent status. The national unification is promoted while the modernization is taking place. In this case regional societies were not developed when the Western ideas came in and started the movement for national unification.<sup>35</sup>

4) Although regional societies are not fully developed in Southeast Asian countries they form an integral part of the national societies. Thus, the full pattern seems to be: the disintegration of tribal societies to incomplete

development of regional societies to colonization by the Western powers or introduction of the Western technology to the emergence of national societies to the development of regional and local societies and cultures. There are two senses in which the term the regional society can be used.

4.3 Now, what is the nature of the regional society, that is to say, the Kon Muang society, in northern Thailand? Can the regional society accomodate the disintegration of tribal societies and serve as the starting point of modernization?

1) In order to answer these questions let us first examine the nature of a regional society.

As we have seen local cities such as Chiengmai and Chiengrai are the centers of valleys bearing those names and were political and religious centers during the times of kingdoms. They served as the trading centers of villages in their Vicinities, and they dispatched caravans. However, local industries did not develop highly. We can summarize the nature of local cities in northern Thailand as follows:

1. The division of labor of the residents of the cities did not develop,<sup>36</sup> and the regional industries of the villages around the cities did not see progress.

2. Cities serve as trading centers and markets. The markets have developed from the morning markets. The growth of the merchant class has been hindered by Chinese merchants.

3. The process of changing professions from farming to commerce, and from commerce to industry has not taken place. Just as the formation of cities is incomplete the process of getting away from tribal and regional societies is incomplete. Thus, the residents of cities share many characteristics which can be ascribed to farmers.

The term used by H. Miner, "city-folk," is quite an interesting term. The term refers to city residents who follow the tradition of tribal society. He says that the term is different from the term citizen.<sup>37</sup> The term indicates the nature of local cities in Southeast Asia.

5. It is to be noted that the lack of political

stability over a long period of time hindered the growth of local cities.

2) It is said that there is no local color in both Thailand and Laos. Tourists will receive such an impression. There is not much difference in natural scenarios and local products. Wooden containers and wooden sculptures of elephants show no substantial local variation. Only the textile products of Korat and Chiangmai show local characteristics.

However, one cannot say that there is no regional difference. Thailand can be divided into northern and southern regions. There are also good reasons for dividing Thailand into four regions: north, northeast, central, and south.

The northern region, with which we are mainly concerned in this article, was a kingdom with Chiangmai as its capital. The northern boundary was Fang and the southern boundary was Phisanulok.

The northeastern region is a controversial problem. Recently R. B. Textor studied the backgrounds of the Samro (taxi drivers) in Bangkok and indicated the cultural distance between the sub-culture of the northeastern region of Thailand and the culture of Bangkok.<sup>38</sup>

Although Thailand does not show many local colors there are some important differences. The shapes of women's hats, for example, differ in Chiangmai, Chiangrai, Phrae, Nan and Sawankhalok. Regional differences are also shown in the shapes of ox carts, methods of polishing rice, decorations of roofs, women's dresses and hairdo, and the methods of transporting cargoes.

Some Thai tribes, such as the Thai Dam, Thai Daeng, Thai Khau, Thai Shang, and Thai Lu, retain their characteristics. They tend, in fact, to emphasize their differences.<sup>39</sup>

It can be said that the regional characteristics discernible in the northern Thailand are due to tribal characteristics. In other words, the local colors we can find in that part of Thailand are a residue of the tribal characteristics of various tribes. There is a tendency for the peoples of various tribal backgrounds to merge into one. There is no tendency of diversification. In view of the lack of regional political stability and the development of local cities, I think it is almost natural that

regional culture has not been developed in Thailand.

## 5. Meaning of Regionalism

### 5.1

Let us now examine the views of the socio-economic school of the theory of development of underdeveloped nations. As is well known, J. H. Boeke, a representative of this school, contends that the characteristic of the Southeast Asian society--in his case the Indonesian society is taken as the model--is the duality of its social structure. He pointed out that the socio-economic structure imported from abroad and the socio-economic structure of the native people co-exist.<sup>40</sup> He maintains that the disintegration of village communities is not likely to happen because of the existence of desa trying to maintain its traditional social system. He says that this is the crux of the backwardness and economic sluggishness of Southeast Asia. His theory is different from the theory of plural society advanced by J. S. Furnivall. Furnivall pointed out the differences in the status of the Chinese and Indian merchants. They imply that the gap between the native social system and the new social system imported from abroad cannot be bridged. Their theories differ from the theory of multi-racial society propounded by N. H. Frankel who had studied the society of South Africa. After analysing the responses of the native peoples to the stimulus and pressure from foreign sources, Frankel concludes that transition from the tribal society to a capitalist society is possible.

The real question is not whether the transition is difficult but rather what aspects of the tribal society will pose difficulties. In this sense, I appreciate highly the clarity, straightforwardness, and subtlety of the analysis made by Boeke. The society of Southeast Asia is a dual society. Cities in Southeast Asia are an island in an ocean of rice paddies. We must ask: What hinders the social development in a dual society?

5.2 Boeke has his own views on this point. But, I have pointed out that in Southeast Asia regional society and culture has not been fully developed. Certain stages in the historical development of a society have been skipped.

However, I am not prepared to pin point the causes of the failure to develop regional societies. I do not have enough data; I must confess that I have not made a field study specially for that purpose. The social structure of a regional society is generally speaking not simple.

1) It may be possible to form a regional society by expanding the tribal society. Or, we may form a confederation of tribes settled in an area. In a sense the social structure of Burma represents such a society. However, a confederation of tribes still contains the traditional social systems of the tribes. Thus, it is open to question whether such a society will serve as a regional body for carrying out modernization.

2) The transition from a tribal society to a regional society requires external stimulus. Is it not the case that both economic and cultural stimuli are required? A proper amount of cultural stimulus may bring about a reorganization of tribal societies into regional societies. Here, the reaction of the Vietnamese societies to the Chinese culture should be studied.

3) The process of transition from tribal societies to regional societies in Thailand coincided with the migration of various Thai tribes southward and from river valleys to basin areas. This is a natural process of development of a traditional society. However, the formation of regional societies in Thailand cannot be regarded as complete. The penetration of the Western power might have hindered the process.

4) The influence of the tropical area, particularly the natural conditions of the tropical area, upon social development has not been fully treated. I cannot enter into this problem because of the limitation of space. Nevertheless, I like to suggest that the tropical climate has helped the disintegrating rather than integrating tendency in the society. There is a general tendency for a society to disintegrate unless it is unified by a strong central authority. I am thinking of the downfall of the Kumel kingdom. It seems to me that the tropical climate is competitive with the social integration of tribal societies.<sup>41</sup> I am of the opinion that a regional

society or a substitute for it should be developed between tribal societies and a modern integrated society.

5.3 What functions can a regional society play in modernization?

1) When I was staying in Pa Than village I asked why the villagers did not raise two crops, apply fertilizer to rice paddies, and work harder. Villagers told me that the Laotians are lazy and do not wish to work hard. This answer can be interpreted in many ways. What we should not forget is that the concept of "idleness" is not similar to ours. Their society is static in nature; they place values on stability in life and harmony with nature, while we emphasize dynamic elements of life such as increasing productivity. The transition of tribal societies to a modern society requires not only a change in mentality-- from the traditional mentality to the attitude of pursuing profits--but also a reorganization of the social structure. The tribal society should be broken up and a competitive attitude among individuals and families should be developed. The society must develop the mentality of working or of the necessity of working.

2) It is possible to foster competition among tribes. But, the competition among tribes usually takes the form of military campaign. It is only on a regional basis that a local industry can be developed and the division of labor and the development of individual potentialities can be achieved. Is this not the reason why regional society was not fully developed in a society where slave labor was used as in ancient empires and where caste system was practiced?

3) The organization of division of labor and cooperative efforts, and the establishment of leadership and followership are not the mere consequences of economic development. These are in fact as important as the technological establishment for economic progress. These factors are developed or experimented in regional societies.

4) In a tribal society the arts of living are taught by traditional methods. There is no need for a special system of education. Education, especially institutionalized education, is required in order to prepare children to live under circumstances different from those which they are familiar with. Thus, in order to make education effective we must set a stage for the people to act. Such a stage is a regional society.

## 6. Summary and Prospect

My views on the social development of the Thai tribes are as follows:

1) We must take a clear distinction between the tribal and state systems in the composition of a society.<sup>42</sup> The Thai people who lived in the mountain areas of the northern part of the Indochinese peninsula were divided into tribes. As they moved southward to plains they emerged from the tribal system to a state. This point can be proved even from the names of the tribes.

2) The transition from tribes to a nation was a not a smooth process. Hunting and grazing tribes have not gone through this process. This process is mainly confined to agricultural peoples, especially those farming peoples who have developed cities. Cities (including local cities) and the regional societies which made cities possible have served as a stage<sup>43</sup> for the transition of tribal societies to national societies.

3) Various Thai tribes are now moving from a tribal system to a state system. In fact the national states of Thailand and Laos now exist. The necessity of overcoming social backwardness is strongly felt in the two countries, perhaps more keenly in Laos than in Thailand. The principal cause of social backwardness seems to be the failure to develop local cities, regional societies, and regional cultures. Although the people have moved away from tribal systems they have not developed regional societies effectively.

4) There is no doubt that the penetration of the influences of the Western powers and the pressure from Chinese merchants have delayed the social development in this part of the world. However, there are more causes. These are the questions relating to the problem of creating a tropical society and a tropical culture.

This article dealt mainly with the process of the internal development of the Thai society, and did not take up the living conditions of the peoples in the tropical low land areas. I am planning to write an article on this subject.

## NOTES

\* A part of this article was read at the second study meeting of the Asian Regional Research Conference on 27 January 1963. An outline of the report was carried by the Journal published by the Conference, 7.8 [sic] 15 March 1963.

1) Eickstedt, E. F. in his Rassendynamik von Ostasien, 1944 surveys the movements of various Southeast Asian peoples and raised many questions which will be debated in the future.

2) Wiens, H. J., China's March toward the Tropics, 1954 deals with this question.

3) Keiji Iwata, Problems of the Mountain Region Peoples in Southeast Asia: Destinies of Nations. (in printing, 1964), points out the differences in the social and cultural elements of mountain region and plain region peoples. The tendency of the mountain region peoples to be socially backward is shown here.

4) Bacon, E., "A Preliminary Attempt to Determine the Culture Areas of Asia," in Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, 1946, Feb. 1946. pp 117-132.

5) Some people call Thailand a country of Mai pen rai (in Loas, Bo Pen Nian). Since the Thai people are likable, and are prone to disappointment and resignation, I wonder whether they might be called properly as a people dependent on nature, or whether their culture might be called a nature oriented culture. There the human society is a part of nature. But, there is no need to establish the boundary between nature and the human society, for the society fades in nature. "Good" (di) gradually becomes "mai di" (bad). The good and the evil struggle there.

6) My views are stated in my article entitled, "Southeast Asia and Japan," in the Report of the India and Southeast Asia Research Center of the Osaka University, No 1, 1964. See also my article, "The Concept of Life in Thailand and



Its Backgrounds," in the Collections of Essays in Honor of the Sixtieth Birthday of Professor Eiichiro Ishikawa, 1964.

7) Keiji Iwata, Pa Than Village: The Social Structure of A Village in Northern Laos, A Report of the First Rice-Cultivating People's Culture Research Team, 1964.

8) I borrowed the term, "discrimination system," from James West, Plainville, U. S. A., 1945. This concept, I think, is a useful one.

9) Keiji Iwata, "Distribution and Movement of Various Tribes Along the Nam Song and Nam Lik Rivers," Folklore Studies, vol. 23, No 1, 2.

10) In Laos the Muang group was the political and social backbone of the people in the ancient time. State was nothing more than a federation of the Muang groups. State, be it single or polycephalous one, was merely a super-structure of the society. Sasorith, Katay, D, Historical Aspects of Laos (in Kingdom of Laos, 1959).

11) The residents of northern Thailand are called as Lao, but I have not in fact heard it. They call themselves Kon Muang. There is a local newspaper with this name.

12) A Thai tribe living in the Shan plateau and northern Thailand is called commonly as the Shan tribe or the Thai Yai tribe. The latter term is used in distinction from the Thai Njo. In the area where I did my study, the people called themselves Njo. According to Seidenfaden, E., The Thai People, 1958, p. 30, the name Njo originated from Ngai Lao, their homeland.

13) Toshiro Shiratori, "The Relationship Between the Residents of Nansho Dairi (translit.) and the Lisu, Karen, and Lolo Tribes," Folklore Studies, vol. 17, No 3, 4, 1953.

14) Keiji Iwata, Pha Tang Village, The Social Structure of A Village in Northern Laos, A Report of the First Rice-Cultivating People's Culture Research Team, 1964. Also, Keiji Iwata, "Minority Nationalities in Northern Laos," Shirin.

- 15) There is only one Thai Yai household in the town of Wieng Pa Pao. There are B. Mae Chedi and B. Hon villages along the upper reach of the River. I heard both of them are Thai Yai villages. A household, I heard, in the town moved directly from Sip Song Panna in Yunnan.
- 16) A chapter dealing with population movement in Kingshill, K., Ku Daeng, 1960 is based on a few field studies. See pp 21 and 22 of the book.
- 17) See Makino and Sato, (Trans. ), 1944 of Milne, L, Shans at Home, 1910.
- 18) The Chinese spelling of Sip Song Panna is as follows: [omitted]. There is an autonomous territory of Sip Song Panna in Yunnan Province.
- 19) Seidenfaden, E., The Thai Peoples, p. 106 calls the Thai peoples living in the basin areas of the four branch rivers of the Menam River the Thai Yuan. They correspond to the Kon Muang in this article.
- 20) I shall not repeat what I said about the social structures of various Thai tribes, but on another occasion. Keiji Iwata, "Family and Kinship of Thai Tribes in the Northern Part of Indochinese Peninsula," Folklore Studies, vol. 29, No 1, 1964.
- 21) These names are handed down along the paternal line. The first three names mentioned are the oldest names of the Thai Lu tribe. The seven names mentioned here are the names of large families in the Thai Lu tribe. Family names of three small groups are Konmongkol, Puangmali, and Chaikao.
- 22) Keiji Iwata, "Markets and Commodities in Southeast Asia," in Studies in Humanities, vol. 14, No. 10, 1963.
- 23) Compared to the markets in North Africa the markets in Southeast Asia are characterized by the following features: the backwardness of the development of markets, the locations of markets at the centers of towns (in Africa many markets are located at boundary areas of tribes), the secular nature of markets (in Africa, markets have sanctity), the delay in the development of periodic markets, and the presence of women markets.

24) The story of "kami" tea (Min Miang) is interesting. See, Minoru Hashimoto, "'Goishi' Tea in Burma and the Shikoku Area," Study on the Origin of Tea, No 1 (1964)

25) The Mae Kon village has 132 rai of rice paddies (1 to 1/4 rai per household), 54 buffaloes, 14 cattle, and 20 pigs. Since one rai is about 1.6 tan, each household has an average of 5.4 tan of rice paddy. About 3 seki of rice is harvested on each tan of rice paddy.

26) Keiji Iwata, "On Ho Phi (Cult of Spirits)- Religions of Southeast Asia in the pre-Buddhism Period," in Folklore Notes, 1963

27) Credner, W., "Kulturgeographische Beobachtungen in der Gegend von Tali mit besonderer Beruecksichtigung des Nan Tsao Problems," Journal of Siam Society, Bangkok, 1935

28) But, the Chief of Tanbon, namely Kamnan, does not live in Muanggai but in a Mae Kon village south of Muanggai. The Mae Kon village is different from the one in which I did my study.

29) Rice cake cast in bamboo stalk. The cake is roasted and carried by the people. It is seasoned in many ways.

30) The regional structure of Thailand is as follows: Muban (village), Tambon (commune), Amphur (district), and Changwat (Province). The regional structure of Laos is: Ban Tasseng, Muang, and Queng.

31) Seidenfaden, E., The Thai People, The Origins and Habitats of the Thai Peoples with A Sketch of Their Material and Spiritual Culture, 1958, p. 163.

32) Keiji Iwata, "Geographical Studies of the Modes of Living in Southeast Asia," in Studies in Humanities, vol. 13, No 11 (1962) and "Markets and Commodities in Southeast Asia," in Studies in Humanities, vol. 14, No 10 (1963). This problem is discussed in these articles from different angles.

33) This problem can be discussed from another point of view. We may examine the speed of transition from tribal societies to a national state and the speed of migration from the temperate zone to the tropical zone or from the tropical mountain region to the tropical lowland. These factors in the southward movement of the Thai people may be studied. See Figure 7.

34) It is important to take up this problem in order to determine the process of modernization. It will be useful to compare the patterns of development in East African states and West African states. On the whole, the East African states have developed from tribal societies, while the West African states had established cities and states by themselves until they were colonized. At present, it is reported, the efficiency of government officials in the West African states is incomparably higher than that of government officials in the East African states.

35) Kenji Iwata, "The Culture of the Muang," Overseas Situation, October 1964.

36) I was told that there is a kind of guild of metal craftsmen in Lanpan. Traditional textile manufacturers are still found in Chiangmai and Nakonrachasima.

37) Miner, H, The Primitive City of Timbuctoo, 1953. See Kenji Iwata, "The Pattern of Trade in the Tropical Africa," Lecture on Modern Geography, 6, 1956. The crux of the matter is whether the folk-urban criteria of the R. Redfield school are valid. I propose to consider a new model of urban areas.

38) Textor, R. B. From Peasant to Pedicab Driver, A Social Study of Northeastern Thai Farmers Who Periodically Migrated to Bangkok and Became Pedicab Drivers, 1961. pp. 14-15.

39) A brief discussion of this point is in Kenji Iwata, "Costumes of Peoples in Indochinese Peninsula," in Costume, No 84, 1963.

40) Yoichi Itagaki, Democracy and Economic Development in Asia, A Starting Point of Modernization in Southeast Asia, 1962.

41) In my article, "Family and Kinship Systems in the Northern Indochina," Folklore Studies, Vol. 29, No 1, 1964, the nature of paternal and dual kinship systems was discussed.

42) Goldschmidt, W, Understanding Human Society, 1959, p. 183

43) The question is now to place a state which does not have a city (?) in the history of social development.